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Kinship Organization of the Saru Ainu[1]

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The ethnological importance of the culture of the Ainu, perhaps overshadowed by the biological significance of this archaic Caucasoid people, has never received proper attention in Western anthropological literature. This also reflects the fact that the aboriginal culture of the Ainu, as Takakura (1960) has shown, had begun to disintegrate long before modern times. Early in the nineteenth century the Japanese government tightened its political control over the Ainu, and this policy, together with the adoption of agriculture by this basically hunting-and-gathering people, increasing intermarriage with the neighboring Japanese, and the adoption of the Japanese language for everyday conversation, so altered the Ainu culture that a study of the aboriginal conditions is now extremely difficult.

Nevertheless, research in all aspects of Ainu culture is being carried on—primarily by Japanese scholars. In 1951 the Japanese Society of Ethnology sent a team of anthropologists to the Saru River valley, in southwestern Hokkaido, to study the Ainu of this area, using modern anthropological techniques. This field work, in which the senior author participated, has thrown considerable light on the nature of the Ainu kinship structure, about which very little had been known. A unique feature of the Ainu kinship system which came to be understood at this time is that men trace their descent patrilineally and women matrilineally. Although this characteristic had been noted in passing by Takakura (1944: 54-55) and Natori (1945: 114), a full understanding of this unusual descent system, particularly in relation to other aspects of the social organization, had to await the 1951 field investigation. The purpose of this paper is to outline the kinship organization of the Saru Ainu with special emphasis on the nature of their descent system.

Family

Although the contemporary Ainu family tends to be extended, in aboriginal times the nuclear family seems to have been the preponderant pattern, with occasional coresidence of a widowed kinsman. In the rare cases of polygyny, each wife, with her children, had her own dwelling.

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own dwelling. The levirate was preferential except when the deceased husband was the eldest son; then the widow was expected to remain unmarried. The sororate was not prohibited, but was apparently not a preferred form of marriage.

At marriage a man left his family of orientation and established a separate household near his patrikin,[2] and his wife came to live with him. The eldest son looked after his parents and inherited (or at least held in custody) certain properties which were traditionally transmitted patrilineally. The eldest son's descent line constituted the main line of descent, while younger sons established branches.

The family was dissolved at the death of either spouse. A widower built a new house near his close patrikin, while a widow lived with her brother or her mother's brother. Male children of a family which was dissolved, either by a parent's death or by divorce, were looked after by their father's kinsmen, often being adopted into their families, and the care of female children fell to their mother's kinsmen—practices which are in consonance with the Ainu descent rules.

Kinship Terminology

The most important kinship terms of the Saru Ainu are listed, defined, and discussed below:

1 *ekashi:* grandfather, great-grandfather, male ancestor. A great-grandfather was also called *makta ekashi.*

2 *kuchi:* grandmother, great-grandmother, female ancestor. A great-grandmother was also called *makta kuchi.*

3 *ona* (or *onaha*): father (in reference only). The term of address for father was *michi.* The inhabitants of the lower Saru River are said to have used *iyapo* instead of *michi.* The terms *kanna* ("upper") and *sapa* ("head") connoted father in such expressions as *kanna samma* ("paternal"), *shine sapa ko utar* (meaning brothers by the same father) and *oya sapa kor kur* (meaning brothers by different fathers).

4 *unu* (or *unuhu*): mother (in reference only). The term of address for mother was *hapo.* The term *popke* ("warm") also connoted mother in the phrase *popke samma* ("maternal"). On the upper Mukawa River children, it is reported, addressed their mother as *totto* ("breast").

5 *achapo:* uncle (paternal or maternal), father's sister's husband, mother's sister's husband, foster father, stepfather (in address). A foster father was referred to as *iresu achapo* and a stepfather as *mama michi* (*mama* is the Japanese word for "step-"). Paternal and maternal uncles could be distinguished as *kanna samma achapo* and *popke samma achapo*, respectively. The term *krushut* also meant uncle, although it also referred to a male ancestor or an elderly man.

6 *unarpe:* aunt (paternal or maternal), father's brother's wife, mother's brother's wife, foster mother, stepmother (in address). A foster mother was referred to as *iresu unarpe* and a stepmother as *mama hapo.* Paternal and maternal aunts could be distinguished as *kanna samma unarpe* and *popke samma unarpe*, respectively.

7 *irwak* (or *irpe*): sibling. In the narrowest sense this term meant brother (male speaking), but it was also used for a sister (female speaking) and, in a very broad sense, was extended to any kinsman. This term was used only in reference. Half siblings by the same father were called *oya unu korkur*, and those by the same mother, *oya sapa korkur.* All brothers, full or half, by the same father were called *shine onaha ir-utar, shine onaha esap utar*, or *shine sapa korkur.* All sisters, full or half, by the same mother were called *shine unuhu epeka ir-utar, shine unuhu esap utar*, or *shine unu korkur.*

593 The term for brothers by the same father, *shine onaha epeka ir-utar*,
601 was extended to patrilateral parallel cousins and to second patri-
605 lateral parallel cousins. On the female side, the term for sisters by the same mother was used in reference to matrilateral parallel cousins, both first and second.

601 It may be noted that this classificatory treatment of unilateral
609 parallel cousins as siblings was not accompanied among the Ainu by a corresponding classificatory treatment of kinsmen of the parental generation. In other words, parallel cousins called one another brothers and sisters, but their respective parents were not treated as classificatory parents. Instead, they remained uncles and aunts. For example, a female Ego and her female matrilateral parallel cousin's son called each other aunt (*unarpe*) and nephew (*karku*) rather than mother and son.

601 The second major theme discernible in the terminology is suggested in some of the examples, namely, the separation of kinsmen on the basis of the sex of Ego or of connecting relatives. The starting point of this separation was the distinction between brothers and sisters: *irwak* referred to siblings of the same sex, those of the opposite sex being referred to as "relatives" (*shine utari*). Also, brothers by the same father were grouped together under one designation and were distinguished from those by different fathers, and so were sisters by the same and different mothers. This distinction, again, manifests
[605] itself in the separation of (1) parallel cousins from cross-cousins, (2) patrilateral parallel cousins from matrilateral parallel cousins, and (3) second unilateral parallel cousins from other second cousins.

614 This sex-based distinction leads to the third theme: the grouping together of patrilineally related males, who were called *shine ekashi esap utar*, and the comparable grouping of matrilineally related females, who were called *shine huchi esap utar*. Separation between brothers and sisters in the use of the term *irwak* and the grouping of brothers by the same father and of sisters by the same mother are some of the mechanisms through which this "unisexual" grouping was accomplished. This theme leads us to a discussion of the principal characteristic of the Ainu kinship organization, namely, that men were organized into patrilineal descent groups, known as *ekashi ikir*, and women into separate matrilineal descent groups known as *huchi ikir*.

Patrilineal and Matrilineal Descent Groups

611 It is clear that the patrilineal and matrilineal groups differed
614 from the usual unilineal descent group in their inclusion of unilineally related individuals of one sex only.[4] This unusual structural arrangement involved no difficulties so far as the recruitment and affiliation of members were concerned, for the patrilineal group claimed only its members' sons as new recruits and the matrilineal group only its members' daughters, and a given individual was member of only one descent group. Thus the overlapping membership and divided

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loyalties which might result from a typical double (or bilineal) descent system were absent among the Saru Ainu.

Principal Features of the Patrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Ancestral emblem.* All men belonging to the same patrilineal group shared an ancestral emblem or crest of the same form. This emblem, known as *itokpa*, was inherited from father to son and served as the principal symbol of the group (Natori 1940: 1945: 41-51). Whether or not every member of the group had to be able to trace patrilineal descent from the founding ancestor is not clear. Although many men can still do so, this does not appear to have been required. It was rather the emblem itself which served as the concrete proof of the membership. Daughters, of course, did not inherit the emblem.

(2) *Guardian deity.* All members of a patrilineal descent group worshipped the same guardian deity, known as *pase-onkami*. The deities worshipped were the bear, owl, fox, dolphin, etc. The Ainu believed that these deities had once been protectors of their ancestors. For this reason some writers have regarded these deities as totems, but none of our data seems to support this view. There is today no clear notion among the Ainu that these animals share flesh and blood in common with their ancestors or that the animals should not be killed or eaten. The Ainu lack any totemic myth to explain the origin of the relationship between an animal and those who worship it. Also, in each family, the worship of the guardian deity was conducted by the head of the family. There were no totemic ceremonies or feasts at which all those who worshipped the same animal congregated to strengthen the solidarity of the group.

Although the ancestral crest and the guardian deity were supposed to be transmitted through both the main line and all the branch lines of a descent group, some of the branch lines, and even the main line, have at times partially modified the crest in the course of generations and have replaced the original guardian deity with another. This phenomenon suggests a mechanism of segmentation in the Ainu kinship organization, although there is no direct evidence of this.

(3) *Perpetuation of the descent line.* Patrilineal descent was normally continued from father to son. In the absence of male heirs, however, it was common for an Ainu family to have a son-in-law or a foster son inherit the emblem and worship the group's guardian deity. The father-in-law or foster father would ask the guardian deity if his son-in-law or foster son might be admitted to the patrilineal group, and, when permission was granted, he taught the novice about the ancestral emblem and the deity of the group. Since these recruits were considered full-fledged members of a patrilineal group, genealogies provided by native informants do not necessarily reflect strictly biological descent.

Immigrants to a village and servants whom the Ainu considered good men might also be given the right to share the emblem of the descent group of the village, worship its deity, and thus be incor-

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612 Although the Saru Ainu did not have a single word to designate
601 this group of matrilineally related men and women, there were terms which, taken together, referred to such a group. In the Saru River valley the term *ir-matainu* designated those who composed the matrilineal descent group (*kuchi ikir*). Sons and brothers of *ir-matainu* were called *ir-matainu esap utar*, meaning "those who have descended from matrilineally related women"; interpreted literally, this would designate matrilineally related men and women, that is, all members of a matrilineage in the ordinary sense of the term. But since *ir-matainu* already designated matrilineally related women, the term *ir-matainu esap utar* was reserved for matrilineally related men. If these two terms were combined, we would have a matrilineage composed of both sexes. The marriage regulations discussed above, then,
[582] would express a rule of lineage exogamy prohibiting marriage between *ir-matainu* and *ir-matainu esap utar*.

614 In the neighboring Shibechari River valley there was a single
184 expression denoting the matrilineage. Here a matrilineal group (i.e., the *kuchi ikir* of the Saru River valley) was called *mat ikir* ("female line"), and matrilineally related men and women, taken
601 together, were called *shine mat ikir esap utar*, meaning "those who have descended from the same female line," i.e., a matrilineage.

These marriage rules and linguistic expressions would seem to indicate that the Ainu possessed matrilineages. We are not certain what functions, in addition to the regulation of marriage, the matrilineage might have had. The authority relationship between mother's brother and sister's son, which normally plays a crucial role in a matrilineal system, appears to have been absent among the Ainu. Instead, father-son and father's brother-brother's son relationships seem to have been critical. It appears as though the relatively strong solidarity of the patrilineal group overshadowed the significance of the matrilineage. With this meager evidence, however, we cannot insist too strongly on the existence of the matrilineage, but we should consider it in some measure as hypothetical until further evidence is adduced.

Conclusion

611 The most significant feature of Ainu social organization was
614 undoubtedly the unique manner of tracing descent. Men, tracing their descent patrilineally, and women, doing so matrilineally, were
602 organized into separate unisexual groups. What could this type of descent system be called in contradistinction to typical unilineal and double unilineal descent? We propose adoption of the term "parallel descent," advanced by Davenport (1959: 570), since his discussion suggests a close resemblance to the Ainu rule of descent.

614 The Ainu descent group, whether patrilineal or matrilineal, was
602 not "corporate" in the sense of the common possession of property upon which the subsistence of the group's members depended (Befu

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and Plotnicov 1962); the basic subsistence unit was the nuclear family. Nor was it unambiguously politically corporate in the sense of having an internal authority structure and a mechanism for external representation—with the possible exception of the patrilineal group localized in a village. Further examination, however, should be made of the extent to which these political functions were clearly attributes of the patrilineal group as a kin-based organization, and not attributes of the village as a territorial group, before we can definitely assert that the patrilineal group was politically corporate.

The matrilineage among the Ainu also poses unsolved problems. The functions of this matrilineal group—if there were any besides the regulation of marriage—should be investigated. At present, the term matrilineage, as applied to Ainu society, connotes little more than a category of individuals who must observe exogamous rules.

The relationship between the patrilineal and the matrilineal groups should also be examined further. We do know that there were certain crucial relationships between the two sexes, but we are not certain whether these relations were, structurally speaking, person-to-person, group-to-group, or person-to-group.

Though we are far from fully comprehending the nature of the Ainu kinship organization, we hope that our brief exposition has contributed to its understanding and that competent field investigation may be continued for the solution of problems such as those posed above before Ainu culture has disintegrated beyond recognition.

NOTES

1. The present paper is primarily based on an article by the senior author (Sugiura 1952), written and published in Japanese. The junior author has extracted information from this article, reorganized it, and added further analysis and discussion. He regrets that he could not consult the senior author, who died in 1954. He expresses his thanks to Professors S. Izumi and T. Sofue for pertinent information on Ainu kinship and to Dr. Lionel S. Lewis and Mrs. Thomas K. Whipple for editorial assistance. Although some of the aboriginal practices are still carried on, we have adopted the past tense throughout this paper, for our concern is strictly with the aboriginal patterns of social organization.

2. Because men alone trace descent patrilineally, all "patrikin" are by definition male. By the same token, all "matrikin" are female.

3. By "second parallel cousin" we mean Ego's FaFaBrSoCh or MoMoSiDaCh.

4. Some authors (e.g., Montandon 1937: 137) have erroneously called these patrilineal and matrilineal groups "clans" without clearly indicating the difference between the Ainu unilineal group and the clan in the ordinary sense of the term. A clan, whatever its definition, includes both sexes.

5. Some of the older informants, to be sure, claim that while the village has always had a head, there was no such status as the head of a patrilineal group.

6. When a man died, his body was supposed to be attended to by female relatives. The most preferred person was his mother or, in her absence, her sisters, her other matrikin, and his wife, in this descending order of preference.

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114 [122] on until about 1938 when Munro sent him the bulk of his manuscript. Although it was arranged in book form, it was not complete nor fully prepared for publication, and none of the subjects mentioned above was included. Correspondence continued until it was broken off abruptly by Japan's entry into the war in 1941. After the war I received information from the British Consulate that Munro had died in April 1942, and that his wife's address could not be traced.

I know from numerous references to her in Munro's letters that his wife had been a great support to him, not only in looking after his health but also in his work. An elder had mentioned to Munro that women could exercise magical power by means of a secret girdle (*upshoro kut*), which they wore under their clothes. Because of the confidence the Ainu women felt in Mrs Munro, he was able to follow this subject up, and discovered that these girdles played an important part in Ainu social organization. Mrs Munro was able to persuade Ainu women to weave exact copies of five of them, and these have been given to the British Museum. It was in 1934 that a number of articles by Munro appeared in the *Japanese Advertiser* on Ainu customs, in which he mentioned the matrilineal descent of the secret girdles, their magical power and their use in regulating exogamy.

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[611] [582]

114 Munro's object in writing a book on the Ainu was not only to give an account of his careful observations of the people and their customs, but also to demonstrate to the world at large, and the Japanese in particular, that the Ainu had a culture of their own which was worthy of consideration, and that they were not a low grade people believing only in absurd superstitions. He emphasized this view, and when recording beliefs or ritual that might appear irrational, he took pains to compare them with European folk customs. In fact, he intended the book to be 'A Plea for Toleration', as one of his unpublished articles was entitled. To readers of this book such a plea should be unnecessary, and the parallels have been omitted.

114 115 Munro's investigation was carried out at Nibutani in the Saru River valley in south Hokkaido, but he worked with informants from other districts, and made several visits to Kitami in the north. He intended to go to Sakhalin in order to make investigations there, but was never able to do so. His chief informants were elderly men and women still versed in Ainu lore. But for Munro's efforts, much

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offering of *inau* was made. If a hunter was startled he would set up a *shutu inau kamui* and pray to it for aid.

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Another plan for dealing with wicked bears was for the hunter to prevent them from tracking him by obliterating his footprints. When a hunter came across the footprints of what by their appearance he judged to be a wicked bear, he turned them while an elder pronounced a spell. This was called *iyokot-itak*, follow-up talk. Exact formulas have not been divulged, but it is confidently asserted that the bear would lose its wits, wander aimlessly about and fall an easy prey. The reversal of its footprints would upset its calculations, and the spell would follow up the deed as aconite poison does on the fatal arrow.

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True-lore talk (*shi-upashkuma itak*), also useful in an emergency, was somewhat different. This was handed down in the paternal line and communicated to a son only after he had proved himself worthy of esoteric knowledge. It is said to have differed from little talk (*pon-itak*), perhaps in being more secret. But while the spirits adjured in *pon-itak* were essentially evil, those addressed by respectable elders in true-lore talk were said to be merely mischievous. When I ventured the opinion that the distinction seemed slight, I was told that the true-lore talk could be taught at home in the presence of Kamui Fuchi, who naturally abhors evil spirits. To utter *pon-itak* in her presence would be an act of sacrilege, certain to be followed by condign punishment.

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A few elders are said to have used *pon-itak* in certain hunting emergencies, and a very few were notorious for its evil employment.[1] Such sorcerers however, while greatly feared, were regarded as having, in Christian parlance, sold themselves to the Devil. Success in anti-social activities was supposed to be punished by misfortunes including blindness, sterility and family deaths, the line of the offender being doomed to perish. Even in the chase, where black magic (*kunne mawe*) was not used by hunters, *pon-itak* as a means of bewitching bears was usually a last resort. It was a thing of dread, the mere knowledge of which was offensive to the *pase kamui* and therefore liable to have fateful consequences.

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It was commonly said that an evil spirit dwelling in a marsh sometimes assumed the appearance of the hunter's spirit guardian

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[1] Munro made a special journey to Mukawa to see a sorcerer. This sorcerer had no evil power himself but employed evil spirits, and to protect himself against them carried a bone which was used by his great-grandfather.—B.Z.S.

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prescribed design and length under her clothing.[1] This is called the *upshoro* (or *upsoro*) *kut*, but in ancient tradition it is referred to as *a-eshimukep*. *A* is an honorific corresponding to the Japanese *O*, and *eshimukep* means 'most hidden thing'. Other names used only by old people are *ishirimauriri* meaning 'sustaining great [or bodily] strength', *raun kut* or *ram kut*, under-girdle or soul or spirit girdle. At first he discovered only three types of *kut*, which were said to indicate three lines of matrilineal descent and were associated respectively with Wakka-ush Kamui, the deity of fresh water, Kim-un Kamui, the bear deity and Rep-un Kamui, the sea deity or grampus. Each type is woven in a particular way, with a definite number of strands and attached tabs, and is made of wild flax (*hai*). Every woman inherits from her mother her type of *kut*; men are supposed to have no knowledge of them and are never allowed to see them; even among themselves women are cautious about talking of them or exposing them. Girls are taught that they must not reveal the secret of their girdle to anyone. At the time of Munro's investigations in the early thirties many young women were no longer capable of making girdles for themselves, and older women had to do it for them when a new one was required. They knew little more than the names of the *kamui* to whom their girdles were dedicated. The *kut* were reputed to have magical powers by means of which women were said to be able to calm a storm, hold back

[1] The following is extracted from a letter dated April 14th, 1934, from Munro: 'There is a special measure for the girdle, as I am informed by two women independently. The girdle, or rather its cord, is measured between the outstretched hands, the cord (*tush*) being held between the end of the thumb and the forefinger. . . . Obviously the span differs in different persons. But there is another source of difference in length. I am told that women of small size measure the difference between the sum of the measured lengths thus obtained and the conventional length for a special deity by a short measure between the shoulder joint and the thumb, while those of large size measure it between the top of the sternum and the thumb. Both these are called *atem* (*at-tem*, half arm's length) though there is a difference of several inches. The length between the outstretched arms is called *shine-tem* or one arm's stretch. They call this now by the Japanese name, one *ken*, which is 6 feet, and would say that a *tush* is so many *ken* and a half. Obviously such measurements are not constant. Moreover . . . the *kut* is strictly private in each family line of matrilineal succession, so increment of difference in length is unavoidable. However, women interrogated separately are quite positive that the length of their own cord has not changed, because the measure was handed down from the sacred ancestral source. Unfortunately, I can find no note as to the age at which girls were first given their girdles, whether a small girdle was given to young girls, and whether the first assumption of the girdle was accompanied by any ceremony.'

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33: in March 1938, he spoke of matrilineal clans and totemism. This has now been disregarded, as no clear evidence of either clans or totemism has come to light, either from Munro's own material or from the work of other writers.[1] The matrilineal affiliation discovered by Munro applies only to females; it is not recognized by males. In March 1937 I made a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute on the subject.[2] In it I mentioned female matrilineal affiliation, and, misled by Munro's notes, spoke of the Ainu having patrilineal clans, for which he produced no evidence; there are, however, patrilineal lineages. Munro found that some *ekashi* could trace their ancestors in the male line (*ekashi-ikir*) for as many as fifteen generations, while in spite of the importance of *kut* exogamy, women could not name theirs in matrilineal descent (*huchi-ikir*) beyond the uterine great-grandmother.

Huchi-ikir or *shine huchi-ikir* is the matrilineal kin group.
Ekashi-ikir is the patrilineal kin group.
Kemrit, literally blood veins, designates matrilineal relationship.
Shinrit indicates the ancestors in patrilineal ascent.
Iriwak means 'family' relationship.[3]

A childless couple may adopt a child to carry out the ancestral offerings and libations (*Shinurapa*). The adopted child should be of the same *kut* as the adoptive mother, but if no such child is available any child may be adopted and the *kut* must be changed. The change is usually brought about by altering the number of the cords or by shortening them. Munro recorded one adoption of a Japanese girl by an Ainu couple, and she was given the *kut* of the adoptive mother.[4]

That women could only trace descent back to the third generation seemed surprising, considering the importance attached to matrilineal descent and it might have been supposed that it was due to a breakdown in the system. However, the researches of

[1] Montandon, *La Civilisation Ainou*, Payot, Paris, 1937. p. 135, summarizes the evidence for traces of the existence of matriarchy. This, however, is not convincing.

[2] A brief summary appears in *Man*, April 1937: 76.

[3] Munro gave no indication as to what he meant by the word 'family' in this context.

[4] This refers to the adoption of a girl so that she may worship the ancestresses in the adoptive mother's *huchi-ikir*. For the adoption of boys see p. 151, but no mention is made whether adopted boys adhere to the exogamy rules dependent on their true mothers or on their adoptive mothers.

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Mr Ken-ichi Sugiura show that these four generations of common descent, including the speaker, form part of an important social group:

Ir-matainu: the female uterine descendants of one woman for four descending generations.

Ir-matainu esap utar: male uterine descendants of the same woman for four generations.

Matikir esap utar: a group composed of the males and females descended in the uterine line from one woman for four generations. Within this group marriage is prohibited.

Munro has noted the bond of *kut* kinship in the Shinurapa ceremony and in burial customs (Chapters VIII and XI). Mr Sugiura has recorded the case of a girl who married a man in a distant village. The only member of her *huchi-ikir* in her husband's village is her uterine great-grandmother's sister's uterine great-granddaughter. These two women assist one another in all crises—in childbirth, illness, funerals, etc.—and discuss together matters which otherwise would be secret.[1] Mr Sugiura also notes that a woman's first child is usually born in her parents' house, presumably so that she may be attended by a woman of her own *huchi-ikir*.

Munro states that the mother's brother has more voice in the selection of a husband for his sister's daughter than the girl's own father, but he could not hear of any special privilege or duties existing between a man and his sister's son.

The above information points to the existence of an exogamous group limited to four generations from one woman in matrilineal descent. The kinship ties are important for women within this group but are ignored by men. Although Mr Sugiura names a group—*matikir esap utar*—within which marriage is forbidden, he does not record any evidence that this is recognized by men as a corporate group within which any religious rites, duties or privi-

[1] Through the kindness of Professor John Barnes I have seen a complete translation of Mr Sugiura's article in *The Japanese Journal of Ethnology*. In it is a genealogy of the two women mentioned above. Their matrilineal great-grandmothers were sisters, but the names of the parents of these sisters are not given, and the names of their brother and of the husbands of the two ancestresses were unknown. Thus, Mr Sugiura supports Munro's evidence that women trace their matrilineal descent only three generations back. It must also be noted that *matikir esap utar* is not a bilateral kindred group. The only males included in it are the brothers and the sons of the female members, not the male and female offspring of brothers and sons, as in a kindred group.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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leges are shared. Moreover, the name is descriptive, and it is not clear whether the Ainu use it among themselves or merely gave it by way of definition in answer to investigation.

Premarital intercourse was prohibited; if such an offence occurred a conference (*charange*) was held and usually a penalty was imposed, often the confiscation of some family treasures. If there was no infringement of *kut* exogamy the couple were allowed to marry. Munro was told that, in the old days, if a married man seduced an unmarried girl it was considered a crime comparable to murder.

It will be seen that the following regulations, which Munro recorded and the Ainu believe were given to their ancestors with the instructions regarding the making and wearing of the *upshoro-kut*, are not all founded on matrilineal exogamy:

1. Kut exogamy in matrilineal descent: Munro did not record that matrilineal exogamy was limited in any particular way, but as he did not find a woman who could trace her descent beyond her great-grandmother, the *kut* prohibition is almost certainly restricted to the *matikir esap utar* described by Mr Sugiura.
2. The levirate, known as *matraie*, 'wife uplifting', was an established custom but is no longer considered obligatory. Mr Sugiura states that marriage with the younger brother's widow was prescribed, but forbidden with the elder brother's widow. Munro states that a widow had the right to live with her eldest son who would be responsible for her maintenance, and that sometimes a special house was built for her.
3. No man might marry two sisters; Munro was told that sisters having the same *kut* were regarded as one person. Polygyny was permitted, each wife having a separate house, but owing to the poverty of the Ainu it was not frequent and Munro does not refer to any examples known to him at the time of his investigation.[1]

[1] However, in a footnote on p. 128 Munro refers to the part played by a junior wife at the funeral of her child but makes no mention of her role in ancestor worship, nor whether the usual *kamui* were represented inside and outside the house of such a woman when a separate house was built for her.

Mr Watanabe states that there is no evidence for Ainu having more than one legitimate wife (*r- chi*) for whom ceremonies of betrothal and of marriage, with the accompanying *kamui nomi*, were performed. But concubines called 'small wife' (*pon machi*) were recognized. In former times the Japanese established trading posts in coastal areas, and Ainu would come to these for a season, where they would fish, hunt and trade with the Japanese. Such men might be accompanied by a 'small wife'. In any case, if a man kept a concubine he made a separate hut for her.

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582 292 789 611 4. It was forbidden for two brothers to marry two sisters, and the Ainu told Munro that the prohibition was enjoined by the *kut*. An old tradition states: '*Iri-guru, iri menoko, koro yakun utushte ekapne newa shomsan pure ne*', freely translated, 'Male blood relations with female blood relations co-wives is not custom'. It may be that this was motivated by the same idea underlying number 3. Mr Watanabe made a note at Otopuke that a very old woman told him of the same prohibition. (He recorded one case of infringement of this prohibition in another settlement.) She gave no reason but volunteered the information that a man may not marry his deceased wife's sister. Munro was also told that this marriage was formerly prohibited and, though not forbidden at the time of his investigation, it was still unpopular. The usual reason given, as in number 3, was that two sisters are one in the bond of the *kut*. These three prohibitions appear to be connected with the levirate, not with *kut* exogamy.

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5. A man could not marry his mother's sister's daughter because of *kut* exogamy. But there was no prohibition against marriage with the father's brother's daughter nor with the cross cousin. However, Munro only recorded two cousin marriages and those were with cross cousins.

It was thought that it was permissible for a man or woman to marry his or her brother's child, but Munro never heard of an actual case.

582 Munro recorded 98 marriages[1] and their offspring, naming upwards of 350 people, all of whom were related or connected in some way by marriage. There were no infringements of the above rules in the Nibutani marriages. It was said that dire misfortune would follow the breach of matrilineal exogamy; in the old days it would have been punished by death. There was a tradition of a couple who had sinned in this way and who hid themselves in a deep gully where a stream afterwards sank into the ground and disappeared. A story was told to Munro of a couple who, over a century earlier, had settled near Nibutani but dared not disclose their identity because of their transgression. After a long period of isolation the elders took pity on them and allowed them to become members of the *kotan*. At the time of Munro's investigations it was customary for the parents of a couple who were matrilineally re-

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[114] [1] It is not clear whether these marriages were all between people living at the time of the investigation. It is probable that Munro's informants gave him the details of marriages occurring in both ascending and descending generations.

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lated, and who wanted to marry, to discuss the matter with elders, and the girl would be allowed to change her *kut*. Previously a fine used to be imposed and the parents of the couple would be obliged to placate Kamui Fuchi and beg her permission to alter the *kut*.

A few cases of a man marrying two sisters were recorded in a neighbouring village, and one of a man who divorced his first wife and afterwards married her sister. Misfortune followed, including dumb offspring and children who died young. The people of Nibutani were shocked, and would attribute any misfortune to such behaviour.

Marriage between half-brothers and sisters, the children of different mothers, though not transgressing *kut* exogamy, was looked upon with disgust. Munro was told of one such case, of which the offspring were deaf and dumb with the exception of one child who had a hare-lip. Such a departure from customary behaviour was considered offensive to the ancestors, and their displeasure might affect the whole community, as well as the evil-doers.

In a note published in *Man*, No. 33: 1938, Munro records a poem recited at a wedding and gives some details of the wedding ceremony. Wedding gifts are exchanged but there is no definite payment of bride wealth. The bridegroom usually sends the materials for the sacred beer to be made at the bride's house for the wedding feast. Guests are assembled and Kamui Fuchi is invoked. As a salutation, the bride's father holds a cup of the sacred beer in his left hand and, stroking it gently to and fro, makes a speech in poetic form. He places a libation wand on the cup and in the usual ceremonial manner passes it to the bridegroom who drinks half and hands the remainder to the bride. As she receives it, she raises it to the level of her forehead, swings it gently three times from right to left, and then drinks. As she drinks, she performs the female ritual salutation, drawing the forefinger of the right hand up the left arm from the fingers to her upper lip, and says '*hap*', which indicates thankfulness. Should she refuse to drink there would be no marriage. Though the ceremony is held in the house of the bride's father, the bride goes to live in her husband's house in his father's village, but she may return for the birth of her first child.

With regard to inheritance, all essentially female property (*huchi-horpe*) is inherited by daughters from their mother. Mr Sugiura

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states that the ability to become a midwife or a *tusu* (diviner) is inherited in the matrilineage. Of male property (*maeni-korpe*) the eldest son inherits the house and yard. The family treasures go to sons but Munro does not state how they were divided among them. According to Mr Sugiura, if there is no son to inherit the *maeni-korpe* it goes to a son-in-law or a stepson.

Before examining the evidence for patriliny and its relation to ancestor cult the meaning of the word *ekashi* must be considered. It is a title of respect, and in ordinary use refers to an elder. But it also means ancestor, as is clearly seen in the term *ekashi-ikir*. Munro translates the title Kamui Ekashi as Divine Ancestor. The *ekashi nusa* outside the house is the place where it was customary to bury elders of repute, and it is there that the ancestral cult is held at the Shinurapa Ceremony. Members of the household and honoured guests belonging to other *ekashi-ikir* may also make offerings to their ancestors. The householder's wife performs her ritual to her ancestresses and is followed by other related women who make their special offerings. Mr Kubodera says that the women who may take part in this rite, worshipping their respective ancestral lines, are the mother of the householder, his father's mother, his own wife, and the wife of the eldest son. Each of these women may be accompanied by a group of women in her own matrilineage. These visits are reciprocal, the women of the household being invited to Shinurapa held at all the houses of their female guests.

The Ainu had no family names before the Japanese introduced compulsory registration; most of the names adopted were Ainu place-names, often mis-spelt or altered by Japanese officials.

Munro found that, even among the elders whom he knew well, there was great reticence in speaking of the ancestors; their names were not even mentioned in their special worship. In the past there was a taboo on the names of the dead; in the large number of names recorded in marriages by Munro there were no repetitions. Names were usually descriptive epithets, references to current events or what might be termed nicknames. It would seem, however, that this taboo is still respected. Despite the vagueness of the information, Munro was impressed by the importance of the ancestor cult, especially as seen in the House-Warming Ceremony and the Shinurapa (Chapters VII and VIII). It might have been considered that the apparent lacunae in the account of an ancestor cult throughout this book marked a breakdown of the Ainu social

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associated in these lineages with the ancestor cult.[1] These *kamui* receive esoteric ancestral worship as well as the worship paid them by the whole population.

A number of the *kamui* associated with the patrilineal ancestral cult are also associated with some of the women's matrilineal kin groups and are worshipped by the women of such groups separately. These women's matrilineal kin groups and the men's patrilineages worshipping the same *kamui* seem to be quite separate, and there is no hint of exogamous prohibition between them. Each sex worships separately, and both regard this worship as ancestral and secret. In each group the members of one sex only recognize kinship obligations and render one another mutual aid.

One *kamui* stands in a special relationship to women, Kamui Fuchi. She resides in the hearth of every Ainu home, and all women regard her as their own ancestress. She acts as intermediary between the elders and all other *kamui*. When any *kamui* is invoked, the elder first prays to her and offers her an *inau*. There is no evidence that she has an *itokpa* or other sign to show that she is especially attached to any patrilineage.

The patrilineages are territorial corporate groups, formerly owning defined areas where they held the sole rights of hunting, fishing and collecting.[2] The matrilineal kin groups are scattered, but are bound together by ties of mutual obligations. Each group worships separately chosen members of the Ainu pantheon closely associated with its own ancestors.

It is difficult to classify the structure of the Ainu social system. It is not a double unilineal descent system (as I once supposed)[3] as

[1] Professor Fortes has drawn my attention to the similarity of this condition to that of the Yoruba, among whom the gods (*orisha*) are believed to have been originally ancestors. Any one of these gods may be worshipped by certain lineage groups or by individual members of different groups. These gods are common to all Yoruba, but particular lineages, or individuals, select an individual god for special worship (Bascom, *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of South Africa*, Part IV).

[2] Mr Watanabe, between 1954 and 1957, carried out further investigations in Tokapachi district and obtained more information concerning the old hunting and fishing areas, including the salmon-spawning beds and accessible gathering localities. His work shows the importance of the patrilineages as corporate groups.

[3] See footnote 1, p. 145. See also *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, published for the International African Institute by the Oxford University Press, 1950: Daryll Forde, *Double Descent Among the Yakö*, pp. 285–332, and S. F. Nadel, *Dual Descent in the Nuba Hills*, pp. 333–359.

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611 that implies the recognition of matriliny and patriliny by both sexes for different functions. Nor is it what I have called an asymmetrical system,[1] i.e. single unilineal descent accepted by one sex and bilateral descent accepted by the opposite sex. The Ainu system has double unilineal elements, in that both matriliny and patriliny are recognized, but it is unusual in that each sex acknowledges only the line of its own sex. It is asymmetrical in that exogamy is ruled by matriliny, men acquiescing because of their mothers' matrilineal kin group, of which, however, they profess to be ignorant. Such a system is obviously incompatible with clan organization, as no clan could function if composed of a single sex. [614] However, it is not incompatible among the Ainu, where patrilineal territorial grouping, descent and ancestral worship are unlimited for men, while matrilineal descent and ancestral worship for women is limited to the descendants of the great-great-grandmother.

[1] 'Asymmetry in Descent', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LIX, January 1922.

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my informants remembered clearly, was the dog salmon ceremony; there is, however, a possibility of other rituals belonging to this category. His main function seems to have been religious-ritual regulation over his group. His main tasks were as the following: 1) external affairs; a) observance of rituals for affiliation of a new comer to his group (pp. 14-15), b) ritual sanction of a tresspasser, c) ritual permission to non-members to exploit resources (pp. 77-78), d) negotiation of inter-local-group affairs; 2) domestic affairs: a) leadership in observance of the dog salmon ceremony (pp. 72-73), b) being kept informed of the areas where hunting with spring bows and poisoned arrows was taking place and of the people engaged in it (p. 67), c) supervision of the proper observance of rituals and taboos by individuals of his group, d) protection of an individual family short of food, e) giving advice to individuals of his group in practical and moral difficulties which varied from production technique to medicine.

He did manual work himself, but from the above point of view he was respected and was always given an honoured position on such an occasion as the bear ceremony.

Kinship Organization of the Local Group.

This is one of the most obscure aspects of the Ainu life. Published data on the subject are scanty and fragmentary[12]. The description below is based on the data from Tokapchi and Otopuke. This aspect among the Azuma Ainu could not be ascertained; Ushintasan, the chief and competent informant from the area, died before giving sufficient information concerning the subject.

Each local group had its core which was held to be a group of male patrilineal kinsmen descended from a common male ancestor and from which the headman was usually drawn. The kin group was known as *shine ekashi ikiru*, one and the same male-ancestor descent. The overt expression of membership of this group were; the possession of a common male-ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa* (Note 15)[13], to be engraved on *kamuinomi inau*, the offering-stick for *kamui*-deities, and the observance of common rituals for these deities. The right to perform the ritual belonged to males exclusively. An *ekashi ikiru* might be and was usually divided, each section belonging to a different local group in the same river valley as distinguished by the Ainu.

The local group often included a few males semi-adopted to the core *ekashi ikiru* group. Virilocal marriage was preferred but was not a strict rule. A man of a different *ekashi ikiru* might take up uxorilocal residence and was thus affiliated with the local group. If a male of a different *ekashi ikiru* wanted to come to live with the local group as one of its regular members, he had to marry a patrilocally residing daughter of a male of the core

ekashi ikiru so that he could obtain the right to perform the *kamuinomi* ritual associated with the ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, of the core *ekashi ikiru* and he had to observe these rituals when it was necessary[14].

The transmission of *ekashi itokpa* and the associated ritual had to be performed by the headman of the daughter's father's local group. The *ekashi itokpa* newly obtained was called *matchama itokpa*, the *itokpa* of woman's side. It was the duty of the new comer to observe the ritual for deities of his wife's father's *ekashi ikiru* with the offering-sticks, *kamuinomi inau*, bearing the *matchama itokpa* on some necessary occasions. The bear ceremony was certainly one but what others were could not be identified. The new comer was thus affiliated with the local group of his wife's father but he continued to hold his own *itokpa* inherited[1] from his father and to observe the ritual associated therewith[15]. It means that he was not fully adopted to the core *ekashi ikiru* but was semi-adopted. But with his sons it was not so. The first son was affiliated with his father's *ekashi ikiru* and not with that of his mother's father; he was expected to go back to live with the local group to the core of which his father or his patrilineal male ancester belonged. All sons except the first were expected to live with the local group in which they were born; however, they might be affiliated with either of their father's *ekashi ikiru* or their mother's father's, i.e. the core *ekashi ikiru*. Which of the above *ekashi ikiru* they were to be affiliated with was determined under the direction of their headman. In case of affiliaton with their father's *ekashi ikiru* they had to inherit the *itokpa* and the associated ritual of their father as their own to "follow the ancestors of their father's side". But to live there as the regular members of the group they had also to obtain the *itokpa* of their mother's father's *ekashi ikiru* besides their own and to participate in the ritual of the group on some necessary occasions. In case of adoption into their mother's father's *ekashi ikiru*, i.e. the core *ekashi ikiru*, they inherited the *itokpa* and the associated ritual of their mother's father to "follow the ancestors of their mother's father's side", and lived with them. The senior son could also remain to live among the local group in which he was born by going through the same procedure as his father had gone through when he came to live there.

All the procedures stated above had to be followed under the direction of the headman of their local group and the transmission of the *itokpa* and the associated ritual had to be obserbed[2] by him.

In some Ainu local groups there were found, besides regular members, a certain number of persons in the category of *anun utari*, foreign people. The word was prefixed with the name of the river where they stayed, e.g. *Otopuke anun utari*, and so forth. By *anun utari* is meant observers of *anun kamuinomi* or non-local *kamuinomi* rituals. They fall under two classes.

1, [Errata: the word "inherited" should read "inherited". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-B--Analyst]

2, [Errata: the word "obserbed" should read "observed"--Analyst]

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that were believed to live there and look after them (pp. 70-71; 77-78). The river group appears to have observed collective rituals against catastrophic natural phenomena but any collective actions in normal times by the group as a whole could not be identified by the present writer.

Marriage and Intermarriage.

The most notable of the Ainu habits concerning marriage might be the avoidance of coupling of the matrilineally related. Women of common descent through female line from an ancestress were called *shine huchi ikiru*, one and the same ancestress descent, who regarded themselves as female relatives, *menoko iriwaki*, to one another. The *huchi ikiru* kinship, however, could not usually be traced at most beyond a depth of three or four generations[19]. The implication of the advoidance is that men should not marry women of the same *huchi ikiru* as their mothers[20].

It might be said that women related by *huchi ikiru* kinship constituted a kin group; however, the present writer has found no reason to regard them as a corporate kin group. They had no single authority. They did not hold any common property and never came together to carry out any collective enterprise organized on the level of a *huchi ikiru* group as a whole.

It is true that women who assisted a woman in marriage, childbirth, illness and death, were her *huchi ikiru* relatives[21]. These activities of mutual help seems to have been based on the person-to-person relation of *huchi ikiru* kinship.

To what extent intermarriage was practised is only partly known[22]. The present writer was able to identify premarrital and postmarrital residences of the married persons who lived in six of seven local groups which formed a *shine itokpa* group on the upper Tokapchi at ca. 1880-85 (Table 2; Genealogical Charts 1-6), and obtained the following result.

1) Marriage between the members of the same local group 15
2) Wife married to live with her husband in the local group where he was born:
   A) From one of the member local groups of the *shine itokpa* group of her husband 12
   B) From outside the *shine itokpa* group of her husband:
      a) From one of the member local groups of the same river group as her husband's 3
         (2 from Perutnai, 1 from Memroputu)
3) Husband married to live with his wife in the local group where his wife was born:
   A) From one of the member local groups of the *shine itokpa* group of his wife 3

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importance, and its worship attendant on the old *itokpa* were kept intact. On the other hand, at Niputani and other lower settlements the new *itokpa* as well as the old sometimes became composite in the carving of, at least, the *kikeushi pashui*.

Case 5. Yaibaro, ancestor of Isonoashi, an old man of Niputani, ran away from his home on the lower Saru. Arriving at the former *kotan* of Niputani, he met Pikun, who found him a promising youth and married him to a daughter of a relative, thus making him sharer of the *shine* (one) *itokpa* with himself (ibid., p. 213).

Case 6. Kenkichi, an inhabitant of Niputani, is descended by male line from Hao who came from Nioi, the former *kotan* on the upper Saru, to Niputani, the former *kotan*, on the middle reaches. His *itokpa* is a composite of the *itokpa* common in all the upper settlements including Nioi and that of Matsuji's family living in the present Niputani, descendants by male line of an inhabitant of the former Niputani *kotan* (ibid., p. 213).

Case 7. Arikate, father of Isonoashi, is a brother of Ukarikun, father of Matsuji, a descendant by male line of a member of the former *kotan* of Niputani. For certain reasons he was adopted by Pirakane, a member of Piraga, a lower Saru *kotan*. As he inherited the *kamuinomi*-ritual of his adoptive family, his *itokpa* represents a composite of his old one similar to Matsuji's and that of Pirakane's lineage (ibid., p. 214).

Case 8. Sueki is a son of Akchainu of the former *kotan* of Piratori by a Piraga girl named Chishiruye and not by his wife. He inherits the *itokpa* of his mother's father of Piraga and not his father's (ibid., p. 226).

Another report by INUKAI and NATORI gives the following as an indication of the relation between the *ekashi itokpa*, the family line, and the local group as existed among the Tokapchi Ainu.

The fifth ancestor by male line before Furukawa, Ainu resident of a Tokapchi settlement, Fushiko, came from the former *kotan* of Bebet on the Ishikari to Tokapchi, where he married a local woman and settled down. Thus Furukawa possesses two *ekashi itokpa*. One is called *Bebet un itokpa*, *itokpa* at Bebet, and is for most *kamuinomi*-rituals he observes. But the most important of all the *inau*, *pakkai inau* for supporting the bear's head in the bear festival, carries *Shupsara un itokpa*, Shupusara being the name of a former Tokapchi *kotan* near where now stands Fushiko (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, p. 81).

(16) When Kazari, my informant from Otopuke, lived at Rucha settlement, a sister of her father, who had married into Shikaripet in Tokapchi, came

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614 denoting upper-stream people living in Sanenkoro and *kotans* above it, and lower-stream people living in Chirokto and *kontans* below it, respectively. The term to denote the people of the middle course was not kept in memory by my informant Ushino. The first at least, it seems, indicates the extreme upstream *shine itokpa* group, but nothing definite can be known.

619 (18) The presence of a territorial group based on the unit of a river valley, already suggested by NATORI (NATORI, 1940), and TAKAKURA (TAKAKURA's oral information to IZUMI in IZUMI, 1951, p. 30), has been confirmed by IZUMI on his survey of the Saru River (IZUMI, 1951). That on the Saru as elsewhere the territorial group represented a kind of corporate group might be inferred from IZUMI's account of joint actions in time of disputes with other river groups, of joint ritual observance praying against tidal waves and landslides, and of repelling trespasses of other river members on their areas. At any rate little has been made clear about the relationship between this and various smaller territorial groups. Nor has the fact been ever noticed that the inhabitants of the larger river systems such as the Tokapchi, instead of forming a single river group, constituted more than one on the basis of each "river" as distinguished in the Ainu classification.

611 (19) Concerning the *Huchi Ikiru*.

An aged Tokapchi informant says: "A *shine huchi ikiru*, when three generations back, goes out of memory and little can be known about it".

A certain female informant was able to name 35 women of her *shine huchi ikiru* within a depth of six generations (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 209). Another woman is said to have as many as 20 living female relatives of her *huchi ikiru* (SEGAWA, 1951, p. 251).

611 292 [831] It is assumed by SUGIURA that a *huchi ikiru* group was symbolized by one and the same form of the *upshoru kut*, chastity belt (SUGIURA, 1951, pp. 3 and 21). Doubt may be raised, however, as to whether so many different forms existed; in fact, the possibility is that some same forms, like some family names, might have found wide distribution beyond the sphere of a single kin group, in the present case, a *huchi ikiru* group.

Inherent difficulty has impeded any satisfactory investigation on the various forms of the *upshoru kut* and their relation with the *huchi ikiru*. SEGAWA, in her studies on Ainu beliefs about it and related Ainu ideas and attitudes, states as follows.

It is affirmed by every Ainu that there was slight difference in the braiding of cords attached to the *upshoru kut* or in their number according to different *shine huchi ikiru*. But it is unthinkable that so great a variety of forms as generally suggested could have existed. Some information has been

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obtained that difference in forms might correspond to different social status of the ancestry, different characteristics of the *kotan*, and different river courses and districts. It is also suggestive of the presence of a place of origin to each matrilineal ancestress and of difference in rank of each *huchi ikiru* line. At any rate, if *shine upshoru* relationship has perpetuated itself through centuries (meaning perhaps that the forms of *upshoru kut* have been handed down from generation to generation matrilineally), a very small variety of ancient *upshoru kut*, originated by a few ancestresses, must have come down ever spreading without people's knowing (SEGAWA, 1951, p. 69).

As is pointed out by SEGAWA, the secret nature of the *upshoru kut* barred female members themselves from a direct and actual knowledge of girdle forms worn by other members. It is noteworthy that actual identification of female members of a *shine upshoru* was made, not by different forms of the *upshoru kut*, but after all by tracing female forebears back along the matrilineal line, that is, the line of the *shine huchi ikiru*. In short, even if the members of a *shine huchi ikiru* shared one form of *upshoru kut*, it may not follow that bearers of one form belonged all to one *huchi ikiru* membership.

For forms, beliefs, myths and other ideas and practices relating to the *upshoru kut* see reports by KŌNO and NATORI (KŌNO, 1931; NATORI, 1945, pp. 91-112 and pp. 185-201). It should be also mentioned that MUNRO gives new important information of various girdles attributed to various *kamui* (MUNRO, 1962, pp. 142-3).

(**20**) The practice of avoidance in marriage, since it was more aversion than prohibition, was susceptible of evasion in compelling circumstances. If need be, man and woman of the category were enabled to marry by going through a ritual procedure: the woman concerned went through a ritual known as *upshoru kikiraye*, at which she changed her *upshoru kut*, the girdle she wore, made for her by a woman of her proper *huchi ikiru*, usually her grandmother or mother for another *upshoru kut* prepared by a woman of the other *huchi ikiru*. There is no evidence of her marriage then requiring any sanction of the whole *huchi ikiru* group. It seems that it could take place simply at her parents' discretion and with due ritual observance at their hands.

(**21**) They were usually her matrilineal close relatives such as her mother, sisters and/or daughters who were convenient to come to her. Only when they failed, any woman related to her by *huchi ikiru* kinship would be called instead. There also could be and actually were some women of the same *huchi ikiru* who knew one another only by their names but had never met together. SUGIURA reports an interesting case of a woman, Teki, from the Atsuga valley who married a man in a distant *kotan* in the Saru

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611 valley. The only woman of her *huchi ikiru* in her husband's *kotan* has been
602 her mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter, Hatu. Teki became intimate with her after this woman came to marry in the *kotan*. Since then, Teki has been assisted by Hatu in childbirth and illness and has counseled with her in such private matters as would be secret to other persons (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 206).

582 (22) Intermarriage and "basho" or district system.—On the evidence of an
631 old document from a trading post, TAKAKURA points out a custom among the Ainu formerly of aversion against marriages between people of different "basho" or districts (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 336; for "basho" see Note 6).

The area occupied by the four river groups of Shipet, Otopuke, Satnai and Tushipet living on the main and tributary waters of the Tokapchi river system and walled on three sides by the great divide of Hokkaido and its branches, constituted the Tokapchi "Basho". Among the Ainu on the upper Tokapchi, the Satnai and the Otopuke at least, as described in the text, there seems to have been a strong tendency to intermarriage within the area, i. e. the Tokapchi Basho, which appears to be in agreement with TAKAKURA's account. It is questionable, however, whether or not the sphere of intermarriage always corresponded in extent with the "basho" as in the case of Tokapchi. It is not known on what basis and in what manner the demarcating line of a "basho" was drawn; but it is informed that "it seems to have been based on the boundary of the headman's sphere of influence, that is, the boundary of the hunting and fishing grounds of the "ujizoku" (clan) or "buzoku" (tribe) concerned" (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 105).

614 HABARA (1939, p. 131), TAKAKURA (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944b, p.
582 55) and NATORI (1945, p. 123) have come to one and the same conclusion that the Ainu formerly practised endogamy within the group of patrilineal kinsfolk. It is called "ujizoku" (clan) by HABARA (1939, p. 131) as well as TAKAKURA (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944b, pp. 55 and 57); however, the Ainu term for it is unknown. HABARA gives no definition of his term "ujizoku", stating merely that it is divided into one to several sections each belonging to a *kotan* (HABARA, 1939, p. 209). TAKAKURA's definition of the "ujizoku" (clan) is given in the following statement: "the clan the member of which believe themselves to have branched from a common male ancestor, *ekashimoto*, have a common family mark, *itokpa*, and a cult of a common principal deity, *pase-onkami*" (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944b, p. 57). In this description, the relationship of the 'clan' with the territorial group remains unexplained; however, it is suggested in his statement quoted in Note 17. There he points out that the 'clan' seems to have been the basis on which the sphere of inter-
[611] marriage among the Ainu was determined (ibid., p. 57). NATORI makes another

important point that "the sphere of their intermarriage was formerly prescribed by both the family mark indicating their patrilineal descent and the type of the chastity belt indicating their matrilineal descent" (NATORI, 1945, p. 124), though no further details on this point have been given by the same author. For *upshoru kut* (the so-called chastity belt) exogamy see Note 19.

(23) Explanation of the genealogical charts concerning the local groups of the upper Tokapchi valley.

Kuttarashi (K) Eight houses; of which seven were inhabited each by a simple family and the remaining one by the househead (K29) and his widowed mother (K12). No one of the eight male house-heads was from other districts. Three of them (K20, 21 and 22) were sons of a man (K7) from the Ishikari river area who settled down in marriage; another (K29), a patrilineal relation to P15, was descended through males from an Ishikari man who came to live here some generations before. The remaining four house-heads (K17, 18, 28 and 33) were originally descended through the male line from Tokapchi Ainus; the then headman of Kuttarashi (K17) and his younger brother (K18) among the rest were patri-kin of the headman of Nitmap (N12) actually linked lineally to him; so was K28, though of less distinct line of descent.

1. Native of Nitmap; came to live at Kuttarashi and here gave birth to children.
2. Came as bride from Asahikawa on the Ishikari.
3. Patrilineally related to the headman of Nitmap (N12), sharing with him the *shine itokpa*, same male ancestor mark.
4. Closely related to P15 through male line; descended patrilineally from an Ishikari man.
5. Native and inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
6. Came as bride either from Memroputu or Pipairu.
7. Came from Ashikawa and settled down in marriage.
8. Native of Kuttarashi.
9. Native inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
10. Claimed relationship to N8, late headman of Nitmap. Died from a blow received from her husband; she left a will by which her young son (K28) was taken in charge of N8.
11. Native inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
12. Native of Kuttarashi. Had for some time been a widow; her daughters had all married and she lived with her eldest son (K29).
13. Late headman of Nitmap; of genuine descent from Tokapchi Ainus.
14. Later went to Moseuchi in Shikaripet; at the date still unmarried. It is not known with whom she stayed.
17. Then headman of Kuttarashi.

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* 174 601 So, let us begin with the Amur peoples. In the Amur region we find two basic ethnic groups -- Paleo-Asiatics, and the Gilyak and the Tungus nationalities and in part the Ainu, joining them from the side of the Japanese archipelago.

We do not have to talk about the Gilyak -- they not only have the Turanian system in its most complete form, but in addition they have preserved the ideal form of the punalua family, the analysis of which has shown us that the Turanian system is the result of cousin marriage.

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101 174 601 835 The Ainu tribe, to which, as the neighbors of the Gilyak, we shall devote a special chapter, is excluded from our survey as a tribe that is both racially and linguistically unique among the circle of peoples of northeast Asia. It is equally unique in its family structure. They have a classificatory system, but it differs in many essential respects from the Gilyak and the Tungus. Equally radically different from these latter are their marriage norms and their social organization. Among the Ainu, for instance, marriages are allowed both between the children of brothers and between the children of sisters, and in this respect they resemble more closely the northern Paleo-Asiatics -- the Yukagir and the Chukchee. The features of group marriage in the form of the mutual rights of brothers to each other's wives have been found by me at only a few points, and only the levirate fully coincides with the Gilyak-Tungus. The most important characteristic trait of the Ainu system, however, is the typically pronounced maternality and the absence of a clan structure -- a feature which also brings them closer to the northern Paleo-Asiatic group. In any case in /237/ view of the complete isolation of this tribe in all other respects from the group of nationalities in which we are interested, we note only their peculiarities, without engaging in any kind of comparison.

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